

The Common Cause,

The Organ of the National Union of

Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

BREAD-WINNER TAX-PAYER



WHY NOT VOTER?

Pity would be no more
If we did not make somebody poor,
And Mercy no more would be
If all were as happy as we.

The News of the Week.

How to Alienate Your Friends.

We publish an interesting article to-day from a gentleman who has in his time been a strenuous supporter of the Liberal party. It is interesting to note how, in the mind of a man of principle, the way certain Liberal politicians have treated our question has completely unmasked them. Up and down the country such men are to be found in increasing numbers.

A Sinister Silence.

The indictment our friend makes against the Press is well deserved. It is curious, if one happens to be a woman and a Suffragist to boot, to read the retrospects of the past year which filled the daily papers last week. Even those which are "friendly" to us do not remember to mention us. Thousands of the best women in England have had one over-mastering desire, one pure and selfless aim during the whole year, and the Press, in its review of the year's endeavour, passes them by in silence. It is recorded that when the King died there was a truce of months in party warfare; it is not recorded that during that time the only body to be driven forth from the spirit of Conciliation were the women.

This silence has something in it oppressive and sinister. It is like being a dead person among the living; it is as though one walked among men and they did not see one, spoke and received no answer. Where it is deliberate it is cruel and abominable; where it is accidental we are not sure that it is not even sadder. For in strife there is living, but in forgetfulness there is death, and when men have done wrong and know they have done wrong, and then proceed not to right it but to forget it, their consciences are in danger of being blunted past recovery.

The New House.

We have not yet to hand a complete list of the new Members of Parliament as classified by the National Union. The following list was published last week in "Votes for Women":

Members of Parliament prepared to vote for a Woman Suffrage Bill on the lines of the Conciliation Bill	407
Members prepared to vote for a measure of Adult Suffrage only	9
Members who are prepared to vote for a still more moderate measure of Woman Suffrage, though they voted against the Conciliation Bill	3
Avowed Anti-Suffragists	176
Members who are neutral, or were absent during the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, or as to whose views no information is yet available	75

The "Morning Leader" Competition.

We do not attribute any importance to newspaper competitions, because we know a large number of people with serious convictions will not enter into them. For those whom it may interest, we quote from "The Vote" the figures in the "Morning Leader" competition, which are 204, 393 for Women's Suffrage and 165, 246 against.

Wages of Bag Makers.

We have received so many inquiries with regard to a statement made in our A B C page of November 3rd, that we here give our authority for it. The statement was that in March 1909 fourteen women making bags for Woolwich Arsenal, received 2s. 7d. a week. The statement was made in a handbill issued by the Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Suffrage Society (now the Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society) as an election handbill in the Rossendale election of January, 1910, and questions relating to it should be addressed to Miss Roper, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

Death of Mrs. Clarke.

This lady, who was the beloved sister of Mrs. Pankhurst, died on Christmas Day. She had been imprisoned for one month for breaking a window, and she was released on the 23rd, when she attended the luncheon welcoming the released prisoners. She went down to Brighton, where she was Organiser, and was taken ill on Christmas Eve. There can be little doubt that Mrs. Clarke's death was hastened by her devoted service to the cause she believed in. In one year Mrs. Pankhurst has lost three of her dearest, her only son, her mother and her sister. We sorrow with her.

Some Recent Light Sentences.

At Hitchin lately an army reservist, Harry Durrant Kempton, who was earning wages and had left his wife for the week following the birth of their child with no food but one cup of tea, one raw turnip and two raw carrots, was sentenced to one month's hard labour.

"The Child's Guardian" for December gives several cases of most inadequate punishment—one at Carnarvon, where a child of 2½ was beaten frequently by her aunt, the thigh being blackened, was met with a fine of 2s. and costs; one of a stepfather who beat a child of three till her face was "one continuous bruise," because she "would not" sleep, resulted in a fine of £2.

Vested Interests.

One wonders what depths of corruption are hidden by the remarkable darkness with which Anti-Suffragists cover their pecuniary transactions. In July Lord Cromer made an appeal for £100,000, and said they had secured £13,000. What do they do with the money? One guess we can make which is almost a certainty. They subsidise the Press. Otherwise is it credible that in all these New Year retrospects women's suffrage, which was more prominent in the last Parliament (securing a two days' debate) than ever before, should have been entirely passed over in the press? But another question also arises: Who gives the money? And why should their names and subscriptions not be fit for publication? There are various reasons possible. We read in the "Woman's Journal" of December 17th that in 1850, when Ohio women appealed to the Convention for recognition, "so low and obscene were the arguments on the question that the debate was ordered stricken from the minutes." And Ohio seems to be still living up to this standard. We know what interests they are which oppose the liberation of women, and no one can resent the inference that anonymous donors of thousands have some interest in more than one soul-destroying traffic.

High Time!

A few weeks ago Washington State gave its women the vote, thus making the fifth Suffrage State. We read now that Ohio suffragists have adopted as the slogan for the coming constitutional campaign, "Ohio the Sixth"! And, if the reports of the abominable political corruption of Ohio are true, women will cry, "And high time too"! We read that "the thriving town of Jefferson has been absolutely wiped out politically, as every voter has been convicted of selling his vote and has been disqualified from voting for five years. These men may not vote either in State or town elections, and the question of filling the town's elective offices during the period of disfranchisement is a serious and vexatious one."

It is suggested that the Governor of the State should appoint the town officers. But it would surely be better to give the women a chance of showing what they were made of.

Our Cartoon.

This is a reproduction of a poster in black and white (size 38in. by 53in., price 4d.), which was specially designed for the South Salford election. It can be obtained from Miss Margaret Robertson, 85, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.

The A. B. C. of Women's Suffrage.

I was shopping the other day with an aunt who is

NOT A SUFFRAGIST.

The young lady behind the counter was complaining of bad trade, and "blaming it on" the Budget, licensing laws, and land taxes. So much

POLITICAL KEENNESS

did she show that my aunt, with a side glance at me, asked her, "Are you in favour of Women's Suffrage, then?" From her expression she might have been asked whether she was in favour of housebreaking or incendiaryism. She protested indignantly against the suggestion, and denied emphatically and repeatedly that anything could possibly bring her to favour the movement at all—"I wouldn't have anything to do with such goings on." This was my aunt's moment of triumph; but a bomb-shell fell when the young lady continued—"But, mind you, of course I think

EVERY WOMAN WHO PAYS RATES AND TAXES should have a vote!"

"Then you ARE a Suffragist," I rashly exclaimed; but I only roused another indignant protest, followed, however, by an interesting enlargement on her views—"Why shouldn't the woman who pays just the same as the man have a say as he does? They may be doing things she doesn't like with her money. Supposing they were to have

A WAR WITH GERMANY.

she'd have to pay, but she'd never be asked whether she wanted it or not—and that's not fair." I applauded heartily, but only to hear, as I left the shop, her parting shot—"But don't you run away with the idea that I'm a Suffragist!"

And this little incident left me wondering

WHAT IS A SUFFRAGIST?

and what did that woman think a Suffragist was, that she spurned the title?

Let us try and answer the first question first. A Suffragist, surely, is just a man or woman who believes that a woman's sex

OUGHT NOT TO DISQUALIFY

her from voting in Parliamentary elections—that is to say, every woman who possesses the qualification which gives a man a vote (at present householder, occupier, lodger, or graduate) ought to have a vote too. Some people think that all men and all women ought to have votes, and we call them

ADULT SUFFRAGISTS,

but the mass of men and women who call themselves Suffragists ask for the vote for duly qualified women.

Why, then, did the young lady behind the counter deny that she was a Suffragist? Probably, in the first place, because she had got her ideas of the Suffrage movement from the

SENSATIONAL AND OFTEN WILDLY EXAGGERATED

reports, in the daily press, of the actions of the militant Suffragists. She could not be blamed for that. Where, in any paper she was likely to see, would she find any full report of a good meeting or great demonstration, or any reasoned statement of the case for Women's Suffrage? All she would see would be "Disgraceful Scenes at Westminster—Woman Knocks Off Policeman's Helmet," or "Suffragettes Smash Windows." She did not know, and she had no means of knowing, of the years of peaceful propaganda or of the orderly meetings held all over the country at the rate of more than 40 a day since July last in support of the very measure she favoured—

"VOTES FOR WOMEN WHO PAY RATES AND TAXES."

But I do not think that was her only reason for refusing to be styled "Suffragist." I think she probably shared the dislike which many people have for being

LABELLED—PIGEON-HOLED—CLASSED.

It seems to take the originality from one's views, and to somehow rob one of identity and personality. This may be fantastic, but it is hard otherwise to explain a certainly very wide-spread prejudice. But we, who work for the

COMMON CAUSE,

see the golden side of the shield. We know the joy of this enrolment in a great army where the spirit of the whole is communicated to each member, and where we voluntarily throw aside every difference for the sake of the

GREAT PRINCIPLES

which we hold in common. Let us once more recall our aim, as defined by one of our strongest opponents, Dr. Emil Reich, who scornfully summed it up as "only an attack upon war, drink, and prostitution." Need any woman be ashamed to admit that she is a Suffragist, if to be a Suffragist means to fight the battle of peace, temperance, and purity?

THE WEEK'S MOTTO.

For loyalty is still the same
Whether it win or lose the game;
True as the dial to the sun,
Although it be not shined upon.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to The Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.

ADVERTISEMENTS should reach the office by first post on Tuesday. LONDON AGENT.—Communications referring to advertisements may now be addressed to our London agent, Mrs. H. A. Evans, 10, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C. Friends in London desirous of helping to get advertisements will kindly communicate with her.

THE PAPER WILL BE POSTED to any address in Britain or abroad for the following prepaid payments:—

3 MONTHS	...	1 9
6 MONTHS	...	3 3
12 MONTHS	...	6 6

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed if it is desired that they should be returned. The Editor accepts no responsibility, however, for matter which is offered unsolicited.

CORRESPONDENTS ARE REQUESTED TO NOTE that this paper goes to press on Tuesday. The latest news, notices, and reports should, therefore, reach the Editor by first post on Monday. The Editor reminds correspondents, however, that the work is made much easier if news is sent in as long beforehand as possible. Monday is only mentioned as the last possible day, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

NOTICE.—This paper should be obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Thursday. If people have any difficulty in getting it locally they should write to the Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester, giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

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Fatherless Children and Widows.

*They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their look is dread to see,
For they mind you of their angels in high places,
With eyes turned on Deity.
"How long," they say, "how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart,—
Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,
And your purple sheens your path!
But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath."*

E. B. BROWNING.

The recent terrible colliery disaster near Atherton, whereby hundreds of families are left destitute, has brought home to the nation, for the moment, vividly, the precariousness (Lord Morley called it "the ghastly insecurity") of the home. It is well known that the yearly toll of death in the great dangerous trades of mines and railways is such that the hundreds who perished in this explosion are a small fraction of the year's sum; but the suddenness and magnitude of the disaster has given a jerk to the conscience of the nation, and at once large relief funds are subscribed. It seems possible that these families may be better provided for than those many more who in the course of the year are left destitute by single obscure disasters, and it is certain that they are better off than the great majority of families whose bread-winners are untimely dead. In 1901

the widows in England and Wales numbered about a million and a quarter, and these had an average of between two and three children to support. We cannot say, then, that the widows are a small or a negligible proportion of the population. How do we deal with their case?

The total inability which men have shown to deal adequately with the problem of the widow might by itself—if we were not so crusted over with old habit—cause some heart-searchings as to the moral beauty or the eternal necessity of the subjection of women. Down all the ages, in all literatures, the "poor widow" has been the symbol of that which was most destitute and most oppressed. She has passed into the canting phraseology of the advertising insurance company and the corrupt politician, but it has been left for women themselves to bring forward the suggestion that, after all, the helplessness of the widow is in large measure the result of the subjection of women, and that this age-long iniquity and injustice is the root of many of the evils which men have found "necessary," merely because they would not do the one thing needful to remove them all.

We have frequently drawn attention to the root of women's difficulties, which is that men forget about them. Naturally, if women are created for men, when men die their "relicts" are apt to be forgotten. Eastern nations have held that the only decent thing for these women to do was to die too, and they have also to a considerable extent carried out the slaying of "superfluous" baby girls. Our more humane civilization cannot endure these logical and simple solutions, but acts somewhat on the same plan as the Turkish authorities with their superfluous dogs,—

"Thou shalt not kill, but needst not strive
Officiously to keep alive."

Our English system is:—To make it difficult for any woman to earn a good wage; to make it still more difficult for any married woman to do so; to give a married woman no right over her husband's earnings, and consequently no power of provision. Having, largely by laws and institutions, made a married woman absolutely dependent on the good will, the capacity, the health, and the life of one man; having reiterated, in the face of her passionate plea for independence and the right to the "fruit of her own hands," that "a woman's place is the home" and her first duty is to her children, we then proceed, if accident or ill-will deprive her of her husband's support, to drive her out of the sacred home, or we take her children from her. Those who profess so much dismay if a woman while her husband lives goes out for some hours of the day and returns to her home and children, have brought forward no scheme for keeping her in the home when her husband dies. We have heard sentimental judges and magistrates insist on leaving children with a *bad* father, because of their possible redeeming effect upon him, but they do not make out any consistent scheme by which children can be left with a *good* mother, when her husband has died and left her most forlorn.

The recent debate on the Conciliation Bill revealed quite ludicrously how impossible it is for some men to conceive of women except in relation to themselves. Mr. Belloc spoke of the Bill as enfranchising women who had a grievance, or those who wanted to live their own lives, "whatever that may mean"! Mr. Churchill and others complained that the "best of their sex," the married women, were left out! Now one in five married women is a widow! When these pearls of wisdom were spread before an audience of working-women, there was but one outcry—"What of the widows?" Well, one could only reply that, being politicians, these men knew "the poor widow" merely as a useful phrase, and had not realized her existence in the starved flesh. A woman does not cease to be married because her husband is dead. She is no less a mother when she has to be father and mother in one.

Men try to have it all ways. While a man is alive, it is nice to think his wife is his property, that she is

dependent on him, that she must come to him for everything, that the children are his. But when he comes to die, the other men do not at all wish to take upon themselves the corporate responsibility of the lonely women whom law and custom have made dependent and helpless. The egregious Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in the course of that historic debate, described the qualities which men "admire and respect in women," and among these were "their dependence upon others,"—"their willingness to yield their opinions,"—and he exclaimed, "God forbid that they should abandon these qualities, which are our pride and theirs!" But who ever heard of such qualities as these helping the desolate and oppressed? If Mr. Chamberlain really felt this pride in women's dependence, it would have been only decent in him to have introduced, while he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, some measure whereby the chivalry of men should support the sweetly yielding and dependent women. At least he might have proposed to relieve them from rates and taxes; but we find, on the contrary, that his chief proposal was (as one who frequently boasts, "I once was Chancellor of the Exchequer"!) to tax the food of the widow and orphan.

We are at the point of a great change in social conditions: either a married woman, in giving up her independence, must acquire some security from the State, or she must be allowed complete freedom to achieve her independence herself. And this change cannot be accomplished over the heads of the women, for it depends for success on the willing and cheerful acceptance and co-operation of the women themselves. We want good, wise, far-seeing mothers, self-reliant and strong to serve; the material is there in our stubborn English stock; given some training and scope, they should rear in future generations a race unequalled in the past. But of slave-mothers, women whose "pride" it is to be "dependent" and "yielding," there is no hope, and, we verily believe, no fear.

Should Married Women Work?

[The following interesting little essay was written by a Bristol working woman. The question really means, "Should married women work outside the home, for wages?" because there is no need to ask whether married women should work; those of the poorer classes *have* to work, and very hard too.]

I should like to give my opinion and ask another question: Should married women have the right to live?

Before a man marries, if he lives at home he has to give his mother 10s. a week for his keep; if he goes into private lodgings he has to pay most likely 12s. The average wages of a working man is 21s. to 24s. a week. If he gets 24s., he generally gives his wife 20s.; if he gets 21s., he gives her 18s.; he always takes care he has his pocket money. I am speaking on what I know to be absolute facts.

In the first place she has to pay 3s. 6d. or 4s. for a couple of decent rooms, if she is to live in town; then there is fire and light, soap and soda, and a lot of other little things that she cannot do without. It is all very well for the first year or two, but when little ones begin to come it makes a great difference. When there is four or five, or very often more, the woman gets no more money, and then she has to begin to neglect herself. The man must have decent food if he has to work; he says he can't work if he don't get it, and he brings his money home; so the woman gets him something and sees the children have enough, but never mind herself. She gets in the habit of persuading herself she does not want any dinner, and so she begins to sacrifice herself for her husband and children.

When the money gets short at the end of the week, it is the woman that has the worry of how she is to get a dinner for them. The man goes to work; he has got all the material of his work ready for him; his wife has to find everything. Give the man sixpence and tell him to find a dinner for all of them with it, and he would very likely throw it at you, and would ask, "What have

you done with the money I gave you last Saturday?" And then it is that the woman has got to do something if she is to live herself. She finds it is beyond her means to keep the children and herself as she ought to do. If she goes out to do two or three days' work a week, she gets her lunch, dinner, and tea, and her money when she is done; so she not only gets her food, but money as well. If she was at home, she could work from morning till night and she gets nothing for herself.

I think that a married woman has every need to work, if it is only to keep herself and children in boots and clothes, whether it is charring or in a factory. It is a question that ought to be thought seriously of, for why does a woman break down at a comparatively early age, when a man is robust and strong?

There is a lot more I should like to say about it another time. But if they want a married woman to stay at home, give the man a bigger wage, so he could allow his wife more.

Co-operative Women on Divorce.

By Ethel Bentham, M.D.

The evidence collected by Miss Llewelyn Davies was probably the most important presented to the Commission. Miss Llewelyn Davies, saying but little on her own part and leaving that little to the end, laid before the Commission a summary of the opinions of the Co-operative Women's Guild, a body consisting almost entirely of married women and mothers, of the most important class in the community—the steady, responsible, hardworking wives of working-men. They are in no way selected from the mass except in so far as membership of the Society implies some intelligence and foresight in the conduct of their daily lives. They may fairly be said to represent the average of the middle-aged and experienced working women, with all the prejudices, all the conservatism, all the knowledge of life of their class.

Other women have spoken, and some have spoken on behalf of this class. But with the best intentions they have been outsiders. I myself, and the organization which I represented, wished to give their point of view perhaps more than any other; but my experience, which naturally coloured the whole, is that of a single woman and a middle-class woman looking on, however sympathetically and with whatever comprehension, still from outside. It is true that we have thus seen much of the game, and the wider horizon is not without its value in arriving at a just estimate, but the conviction that we could bring to the Commission and to the public cannot be as weighty as that which must come from the utterances of those who know of their own knowledge, and tell us in English that may halt but leaves us in no doubt of their meaning, that some of the very foundations of society are rotten beneath our feet.

The first thing that strikes one in these masses of extracts is that these women are thinking only in a minor degree of self. Their concern is a larger one—they talk always of the children, of the harm to them of being brought up in a home where all is not as it should be, and where the trust and confidence and love between father and mother are gone. They do feel, and forcibly too, the degradation of womanhood involved in the separate standards of morality for the sexes, but very few of them stop there. They see that it goes further—that degradation of one partner inevitably brings that of the other in its train, that the man who wrongs his wife is himself the worse, and that the nation which tacitly allows such wrong to be permissible, provided he does not also use a hobnailed boot, will suffer not only in the poorer quality of the children of these particular unsuccessful unions, but in a lower estimate of marriage, which they feel to be the very cement of society, and a lowered standard of thought and conduct, which tends to undermine the happiness of all unions.

They are not blind to or ignorant of the physical risks to themselves and to their children. They would not agree as to the slight importance of "accidental" lapses

on the part of a husband—and many could give good reasons for such disagreement,—and they would emphatically contradict a recent writer who ventured an opinion that “no woman could possibly suffer as much from a man’s infidelity as he from hers.” But all through these letters, though this aspect is put forward, the stress is always laid on the mental and moral side, on the harm to children and the demoralization of family life.

The second thing that makes itself felt all through this evidence is the steady religious feeling which is the basis of their thought, and often enough there is a conflict between traditional religious teaching on this point and the forcible logic of actual facts. It cannot be “right” or “moral,” they feel, to live with one who is immoral, or to subject children to the influence of such a one. Where to “love and honour” is admittedly impossible, can it be right to “obey” where obedience means doing those things which one’s own conscience condemns? But the decision is not in doubt. “Only when they are living together as comrades is it a marriage in the sight of God.” “If there is no respect . . . then in the sight of the Father it is immoral.” With insignificant exceptions, such as a girl who would sooner live with a man unmarried than marry a divorced person, this is the general note. They are asking for the right to act upon the dictates of their conscience. They ask that the law of their country shall no longer put them in the position of doing that country a wrong and violating their own sense of right. It involves a big principle, this demand of the Co-operative Guild—more than the mere redress of these particular grievances, important as they are. It involves the duty and right of women to answer for their own conduct. These women think that this equalization will exalt, strengthen, and dignify marriage, and their conviction will not easily be weakened or turned aside. There are some suggestions for altering the machinery, but these are not greatly pressed. They are not legal experts. Nevertheless there is one point on which they feel strongly. That is, that in the decision of all matters which involve the sacred home and more sacred children, women should take part. And here, too, their knowledge enables them to give reasons hard of refutation.

Women’s Suffrage and the Press.

I have just had an amusing instance of the strangely warping effect of political partisanship. A man came into my office this morning, and, picking up a Radical newspaper that was lying on the table, began to read it. I watched him with interest, for I knew his views, and I knew what was in the paper. Suddenly he threw it down with an oath, and asked how I could buy such a dirty rag. He proceeded to inveigh against the whole Radical Press, which he declared to be scurrilous, vulgar, and dishonest. I agreed with much that he said, but I thought his denunciations too sweeping, and I pointed out that the bulk of the Conservative newspapers are not a whit more scrupulous than their Radical contemporaries. He could not deny this. His anger cooled, and before he left he admitted, frankly, that all Radical papers are not unfair, and, regretfully, that some Conservative papers are.

At lunch, an hour or so later, I sat next to a Radical. He is an aggressive type of man. We talked politics. All went smoothly at first. Then he began to speak of the dishonesty of Unionists, and instanced the unscrupulous and unfair methods of the Unionist Press. I agreed that there is a good deal that is objectionable in the methods of most of the Unionist papers, but I pointed out that such methods are not confined to them, but are rampant in the Liberal Press as well. He would not admit this. According to him, the Radical papers are universally fair, never malignant, and never abusive. I laughed at this, and asked him if he thought as highly of the Cabinet, and of such prominent members as Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill. He said he did. “Do you think their treatment of Women’s Suffrage and of the Suffragettes fair?” I asked. This was too much for him. He snorted with disgust. He was in favour of Women’s Suffrage, he said, but the Suffragists

had disgraced themselves. Militants and non-militants he grouped together as incorrigibles, and denounced both alike with fell denunciations. The women who had demonstrated at the House of Commons and in Downing Street were unwomanly and unsexed; those who opposed the Government, after Mr. Asquith’s generous treatment and gracious promise, were guilty of gross ingratitude. As for me, and the men who are thorough-going supporters of these women, he had hardly a word bad enough for us. Next he fell foul of the Conciliation Bill. It was a Tory measure—a measure that would perpetuate plural voting, and enfranchise propertied women only. From the way he spoke it was evident that he had not read the Bill, and when I taxed him with this he admitted it. Nevertheless, he thought he knew all about it. A few questions elicited the fact that, just as his knowledge of the Suffrage movement had been obtained from the garbled and inaccurate accounts of the daily Press, so his ideas of the Conciliation Bill were based on the ingenious misrepresentations of Mr. Churchill and the disingenuous subterfuges of Mr. Lloyd George. I advised him not to trust such unreliable guides, but to read the Bill for himself. I felt sure that if he did so he would change his mind. I also advised him not to believe all that he read in the newspapers. He grunted out something that I did not catch, but which, I imagine, was not complimentary, and proceeded to finish his luncheon in silence.

So far as I know no cause has suffered more from the attitude of the Press than the cause of Women’s Suffrage. The Radical to whom I have referred, owing to the silence of the newspapers, knows nothing, or next to nothing, of the work done by the Constitutional women; and, owing to the exaggerated, and sometimes untrue, accounts that have appeared in the Press, has a very hazy and erroneous idea of what the Militants have done. Most of the newspapers have deliberately tried to kill the cause by ignoring it. When that has been impossible they have taken care to report only such news, and in such a way, as would be likely to injure it with the public. I suppose there is this excuse for them: that quiet, hard work is not very interesting, whereas the tale of a raid or a disturbance, particularly if spiced and garnished, makes good copy and attracts readers.

The Suffragists, however, have other cause for complaint against the Press. Many of the newspapers refuse to correct errors that appear in the reports of Suffrage matters, and decline to publish letters of protest, even from distinguished Suffragists. The “Times,” whose account—like the accounts given by most of the daily papers—of the so-called “raid” on Downing Street, was partial and inaccurate, refused to publish a letter from Mrs. Ayrton, calling attention to the inaccuracies. It also declined to publish a letter from Miss Beatrice Harraden, protesting against the cowardly insults heaped by Mr. Churchill upon men sympathisers with the women’s cause, who had interrupted him at public meetings—insults to which the “Times” had given publicity. When the letters of distinguished women like these are so treated, less well known people can hardly be surprised that their letters are not published.

In some cases widely read newspapers have refused to qualify or withdraw gross misstatements which have been pointed out to them. Here is an instance. In December last the Women’s Social and Political Union issued a manifesto calling upon all men and women to oppose the Government nominees at the approaching election, because of the Government’s opposition to Women’s Suffrage; whereupon the “Daily Chronicle,” in a paragraph referring to the manifesto, but without, so far as I recollect, quoting from it, asked the women of England to take note that the Women’s Social and Political Union had declared in favour of a tax on corn and other food, and in favour of our being ruled by irresponsible peers. I wrote to the “Chronicle” and pointed out that this was a complete misrepresentation. My letter was not published, but on my pressing the matter I got a reply from the assistant editor, in which he defended the misstatement and refused to withdraw it, on the ground that opposition to the Government implied support of all the

policy of the Government’s enemies. This, of course, was a mere quibble. The statement made by the “Daily Chronicle” was untrue, but that paper persisted in giving it currency in order to injure the Social and Political Union with the women of the country.

It is the same with almost everything connected with Women’s Suffrage. If nothing can be said to discredit the cause, it is severely left alone by the Press. The result is that thousands of people—I might almost say millions—think that the demand for Women’s Suffrage only began five years ago, and that the policy, as well as the aim, of all the Suffrage Societies is the same. Everyone who works for Women’s Suffrage knows how widely spread this belief is. I have heard it scores of times. Only yesterday a man, who is a keen politician and fairly well informed on most of the questions of the day, told me that the Suffrage Societies were all alike. He would hardly believe that there is a great union of Societies that works only by constitutional methods. When I told him about it his comment was: “Why is it never mentioned in the papers? No one ever hears about any women but the Militants.” The newspapers are to blame for this. Some, even of those that profess to be in favour of Women’s Suffrage, but opposed to the methods of Militants, encourage this belief by rarely referring to the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies, and by only referring to the Militant Societies in order to report deeds of which they disapprove, and which they refer to in a way calculated not only to reflect on the Militants, but to cast discredit on the Suffrage cause. People who, like the Radical I sat next at lunch, gain all their knowledge of the Suffrage movement from the daily Press, know little or nothing about it. Their ideas of the movement are vague; their ideas of the Suffrage women absurd and grotesque. I verily believe that, had the newspapers simply told the truth, Women’s Suffrage would be now an accomplished fact. Their misrepresentations of the aims and objects of the Suffrage Societies, their exaggerations and falsehoods concerning the Militants, and their silence with regard to the great, quiet, educational work that has been done, do not redound to the honour of the British Press.

J. Y. KENNEDY.

Ways That Are Dark.

Suffragists must be almost exhausted in their efforts to correct the misrepresentations and inaccuracies of the Anti-Suffrage Press. Every week we receive letters which have been declined by editors because they could not afford to show up their own correspondents and leader-writers. “The Times” is one of the worst sinners in this way. The following from the “Woman’s Supplement” of December 31st deserves the pillory:—

The Woman Suffrage movement has again absorbed an amount of attention, and the campaign both for and against the extension of the franchise to women has entered upon a new phase. The supporters of Woman Suffrage on the one hand have added largely to the number of their societies, and have numbered their meetings and demonstrations by the thousand. The representatives of the Anti-Woman Suffrage organizations on the other hand have greatly increased the effectiveness of their opposition by joining forces in one strong organization, which has sought, by the collection and dissemination of information and the personal canvass of women municipal voters, to prove that the women themselves do not desire the vote. The result of this canvass, which has been made in residential, industrial, and rural districts, gives a majority of women who are adverse to or indifferent to the extension of the Suffrage to their sex.

Now, regarded as a review of the year, we would draw our reader’s attention to the fairness of dismissing the Suffrage agitation in the country in four lines, and omitting all reference to the proceedings in the House with regard to the Conciliation Bill. We have, says “The Times,” numbered our meetings “by the thousand.” This seems a little inadequate, does it not, for a record which gives 4,220 meetings, nearly all in the eight weeks preceding the autumn session? Considering the enormous activity of all the societies during the inception and progress of the Conciliation Bill, it is quite safe to estimate at least 12,000 meetings during 1910.

Then, the little gem about women not wanting the vote. As a review of the year’s activities, think of the fairness of that statement! Yet “The Times” actually had published a letter by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, dated December 20th, in which she gave the figures of a recent canvass in Liverpool, “perhaps the most solidly Conservative town in Great Britain,” where, out of 2,428 women canvassed, 1,229 signed in favour of Women’s Suffrage, 391 refused, and 808 were not seen, being either out, ill, removed, or dead. The canvass in the Tradeston Division of Glasgow gave 1,462 in favour, 176 against, 442 neutral. In Reading, out of 1,575 canvassed there were 1,047 in favour, 60 against, and 468 who would not sign. In Manchester the Suffragists, working only four days, found 402 women who signed their declaration in two only out of six wards where the Anti-Suffragists professed to have found only 192, “including half-sympathizers”! Surely, in a review of the year, some indication of these counter-declarations might have been included? We do not attribute much importance to these canvasses, but, in fairness, if they are allowed to tell one way they must be allowed to tell the other.

But there was yet another paragraph in this precious review of the year:—

Outside England little advance of a definite nature is recorded, though there have been additions to the number of Suffrage societies in several countries and a movement for feminine emancipation in Germany. In Iceland, however, a law came into force during the year giving general municipal Suffrage to all taxpayers over twenty-five—women as well as men—who have resided a year in one electoral district.

“The Times” evidently thinks the new “*projet de loi*” in M. Buisson’s name not worth recording; nor the strong resolution embodying its experience of Women’s Suffrage in our own Commonwealth Parliament of Australia; nor the addition of one more of the United States of America to the four which had given women the Suffrage! Of course not! Mrs. Humphry Ward had said Women’s Suffrage was going back, therefore all record of its progress must be suppressed. (The text of the resolution passed by both Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament will be found on p. 612 of our issue of February 10th, 1910.)

“The Woman’s Supplement,” which has not space to record these achievements of women during the past year, exhorts them in one article to face “the almost militant encounters at the remnant counter” in the coming sales, and in another informs its readers that “girls of exceptionally strong character are rare.” Who would have thought it?

This is the stuff which “The Times” brands as “womanly”! “You must not give us the vote! See how imbecile we are!”

We conclude with a quotation from Saturday’s issue of “The Times” itself, which lets the light into a very dark place indeed. It is a letter from Lady Frances Balfour, enclosing one from Lord Cromer. We think our readers will agree that these are machinations which should be exposed from every platform:—

To the Editor of “The Times.”

Sir,—May I ask you, on behalf of the committee of the London Society for Women’s Suffrage, to give publicity to the letter of which I enclose a copy? It has been sent to the heads of business firms, and, as will be seen, invites contributions to what appears to be a sort of secret-service fund in aid of the Anti-Suffrage agitation. The letter has been placed in our hands by a friend to whom it was given by a director of one of the firms addressed, who felt himself in no way bound by the request for secrecy.

It appears that “the ignorance that prevails on the subject” is not to be dispelled, in so far as it might be by making known the sources of the funds employed in organizing the Anti-Suffrage movement. The very unusual proposal not to publish any nominal list of subscribers, coupled with the request that the list of contributors enclosed—*pour encourager les autres*—may be considered confidential, speaks for itself.—Yours truly,

FRANCES BALFOUR,
President of the London Society for Women’s Suffrage,
58, Victoria Street, S.W., December 30th.

[Private.]

36, Wimpole Street, W., October 27th, 1910.

Dear Sir,—May I venture to hope that either the firm of Messrs. —, of which you are a director, or the individual

members of it will, in answer to the enclosed appeal, afford some pecuniary assistance to the movement which is being organized to resist the proposal that the Parliamentary franchise should be conferred on women? Although the signatories to this appeal believe that the country in general is opposed to the proposal, it cannot be denied that owing to the ignorance that prevails on the subject, which is in a great measure due to the want of organization amongst its

opponents, there is a great risk that the measure will gain a considerable amount of support. I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to you for assistance.

I may mention that it is not proposed to publish any nominal list of subscribers, and I would ask you to consider the enclosed list as confidential.—Very faithfully yours,

CROMER.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

OBJECT: To obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

METHODS: (a) The promotion of the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote by united action in Parliament and by all constitutional methods of agitation in this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.

Hon. Secretaries:
Miss EDITH DIMOCK.
Miss BERTHA MASON (Parliamentary).
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London."

President:
Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Treasurer:
Miss BERTHA MASON (*Pro Tem.*).

Secretary: Miss T. G. WHITEHEAD, M.A. **Telephone:** 1960 Victoria.
Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Treasurer's Notes.

Will secretaries of societies kindly respond to my request of November 21st for their balance-sheets? Up to the present only fifty-five secretaries have been good enough to send me the desired information. I am anxious to make my annual report as complete as possible, and with a view to this I beg the 145 SECRETARIES who have sent me no record of the financial position of their societies to do so NOT LATER THAN JANUARY 20TH. Otherwise it will be too late for the year's report.

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

"The Common Cause."

CORRESPONDENTS.

With the New Year begins our trial of a new system, and we have hopes, considering the general approval with which our suggestion has met, that it will work well in time. Most of the Federations have responded warmly to the suggestion of appointing a Common Cause Correspondent, and we hope that where the approval has been qualified with criticism, it may yet be possible to make the scheme work. No one can want to have columns of reports held over week by week, and yet it is manifestly undesirable either to suppress news of the societies or to curtail other news and articles bearing on our educational and controversial work.

SECRETARIES.

Another series of appointments which is taking rather more time is that of Common Cause Secretaries or Agents, whose business it should be to see to the sales of the paper. Of course, very often, this official will be the same as the Literature Secretary; but even when she is, we hope she will realize that you do not get good sales at meetings, &c., unless some sellers are told off to do nothing but sell this one thing.

CANVASSING.

Owing to the kind suggestion of Mrs. Auerbach, who has tried the scheme successfully, we are having a circular letter printed for the use of Societies; this letter describes the paper, and urges that the addressee should subscribe to it; with the letter is an order form which has only to be filled in with the name and address of the would-be subscriber. Canvassers could call at the houses of all members or possible subscribers, and either see them or leave the papers, calling again for orders and money. The orders would be handed in to a local news-agent by the canvasser, who would arrange that they should be regularly executed, and induce the newsagent to display our weekly bill.

The letters and order forms are printed in the colours, with blank spaces so as to be usable by any Society, and they can be obtained free from the Manager, 64, Deansgate Arcade, Manchester.

THE NATIONAL UNION AND THE PAPER.

Don't forget that the strip poster, in the colours, 160in. by 75in., can be obtained, price 1s. net, from the National

Union Offices, where the paper can also be obtained. Every Society ought to have at least one of these posters in stock for all meetings. Miss Tiner asks us to say that Societies wishing to have copies of the paper from the office must either send for them or pay carriage.

Federation Notes.

Manchester and District.

A very lively function was held on December 19th at the Memorial Hall, Manchester, when the whole Federation was invited to hear the results of our election work. The hall was very full, and looked charming, having been decorated and prepared by Mrs. Miter Wilson, Mrs. D'Augier, Mrs. Norbury, and Mrs. Barnes. Miss Ashton received the guests, who had light refreshments at small tables about the room, and talk and sale of Christmas cards and calendars took the first part of the evening. Then speeches began, Mrs. Swan-

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Sale Price - 21/9



Tailor Shirt (as sketch No. 16), in best quality washing silk, perfectly cut, with crêpe de chine collar and tie; in plain cream, also with coloured stripes.
Original Price - 25/9
Sale Price - 16/9

Debenham & Freebody.
Wigmore Street (Cavendish Square), London, W.

wick treating of the political situation, and Miss Robertson of the results of the election within the Federation, and especially of our work in South Salford. Miss Darlington then described the organisation in South Salford, showing well how for months our aim had been to make a strong local feeling there. At the close of her speech, Miss Ashton rose, and, having paid a well-deserved and much-applauded tribute to the energy and skill with which Miss Darlington had performed her task, presented her with a gold watch as a memorial from the North of England Society and a cheque, with which it is hoped she will take a well-earned holiday in Switzerland. The proceedings concluded with a stirring appeal from Miss Ashton to the men that they should help the women in their efforts.

In our 40 constituencies we have 44 members. Of these 32 are Suffragists, 7 are Anti-Suffragists, 2 are Adultists, and 3 will not reply.

Pioneers.

"Miss, I was at yer meetin' las' night!"

It was a small boy who spoke, grinning up at our Crack Speaker, imported for the occasion. We were giving out handbills at the polling station in which we had held our final meeting on Election Eve. We beamed upon that boy. One day he would be a voter. Perhaps the door we were watching would open to him before it opened to us, and, who knows? he might even convey to his parents some echo of the words of wit and wisdom of last night. We all beamed.

"And I didn' like un!"

The beam was cast out from our eyes. After all, he was but a boy and could count for nothing.

"Nor mother didn' neither!"

Our only consolation is that his mother has no vote—and that is inconsistent.

We are sadly come down in the world since last night. Polling Day, the great movable Feast of the modern calendar, soon to become annual, is always to us the Day of Humiliation, but yesterday we attained the dignity of a Political Party. Then we stood upon the platform within, and the voters arrayed themselves before us. We told them how to vote, and they listened; for the most part they listened until we told them the meeting was closed. To-day we stand outside and put our bills into their hands, as they go swaggering or staggering in at the guarded door. Last night, wise as serpents; to-day, harmless as doves, billing and cooing.

Another party imported a speaker for the eve of the Poll, a Cabinet Minister he happened to be, but I think he will not stand at the polling-booth door to-day, giving out bills.

It shows how infantile our organisation is as yet, that one unwearied woman does all the work. She hires the halls and arranges for speakers, interviews the candidates, and conducts the newspaper correspondence, finds the caretaker and hangs the notices on the railings, drops handbills in letter-boxes and reports the meetings, takes the chair and drives away small boys, makes the speech and answers the questions, canvasses new members and sells the "Common Cause," folds bills by the thousand ready to the hand of the elector, duplicates the circulars, addresses the envelopes, and stamps them.

Plainly we must mend our ways, for the Federation secretary is waxing severe, and tells us that our branch, "outwardly a marvel," is "inwardly rotten."

Meanwhile, 'tis a searching discipline for your speakers, this standing in the street, fair game for boys who quote their speeches at them.

Far otherwise do men work at their politics. Let us look at them a moment and learn their ways.

Here is one group, pillars of their party, or at least buttresses, propping the wall by the polling booth and administering by turns scowls and encouragement to the electors. One old codger, resplendent with green favour, has "lived, man and boy, in this ward for fifty years, and means to stay till eight o'clock." This is enthusiasm.

A motor-car, fluttering with pink ribbons, dashes up. In front are two sleek men, heavy diners; behind is the working-man decoy, and the car disgorges one voter. Rather a pitiful object, this voter, for he is an old man, and he is one of the staggerers. A growl goes round one of the groups, "old man like him"—"voted Green all his life"; and the Pinks opposite look half elated, half ashamed. We slip our bills into the old man's shaky hand, and if we say nothing, we think the more.

Away pants the Pink motor to its Committee Room, where congregates another small army of supporters, loafing most of the day, so many are the reapers to the harvest; and here, too, resort the canvassers, men and women.

And now there is a sound of cheering, and we get a glimpse of the Pink candidate and the candidate's Pink wife. It is a royal progress, with coachmen and footman and all. ("Keeps a butler, too; there's the man for us! None of your Greens, living in dingy lodgings!") They bow right and left, and having a party properly organised, and labour properly divided, they keep their hands clean, or, at least, keep their kid gloves on, and the street turns out to cheer.

A different reception was given to our leader, surrounded when billing by a mob of boys, yelling "Suffer-a-gette!"

their amiable mothers looking on. It is the treatment you must expect, you know, when you presume to be a Political Party with a bare half-dozen workers.

But if jeers are unpleasant, we would not willingly change them for the cheers that are bought too dear; and perhaps we have more to teach than to learn in the political ways of men.

Of all the audiences we faced in election week, two men remain in my recollection. They appeared to be labourers, and they came in their working clothes. They were large men, and they sat wedged together in a small schoolroom desk in the front. All through the meeting they gazed up at the speakers, without applause, without dissent; not exactly stupidly, but with the unawakened look of overgrown children. The next evening they appeared again, though the meeting was in a different quarter of the town. They asked no question; they did not vote when the resolution was put; they showed no sign of having an opinion, only the same humble, patient attention. They were like children with a lesson before them—rather a hard lesson and one which they could not quite understand, but which they would try to learn.

And it is a hard lesson we have set them, and because they have an inherent difficulty in understanding it, we have to make it an object lesson. That is where the giving of handbills helps.

"You ought to have it," said a fatherly old gentleman to our Crack Speaker, "only it don't seem natural somehow. But there, it don't seem natural for you to be giving out handbills in the street. 'Tis very cold for you, my dear."

Very cold and very disheartening, and far more unnatural to us than going in to vote.

That was on Wednesday, and on Saturday we elected a Guardian. I went in this time, made my cross, and said to the policeman and the clerks:

"Now why couldn't I do that on Wednesday?"

It seemed to me quite natural.

MAUD SLATER.

Huddersfield Town Council.

The Huddersfield Town Council received a deputation from the Huddersfield Branch of the N.U.W.S.S. on December 21st. The deputation was introduced by Mr. E. A. Beaumont. It consisted of Miss Siddon (president of the Huddersfield Society), Miss Kilburn, Mrs. Studdard, Mrs. Cockroft, Mrs. Rennard, and Miss Lowenthal.

Miss Siddon said the deputation was there urgently to request the Council to pass a resolution urging the Government to grant facilities for passing into law a Bill giving women the Parliamentary vote on the same conditions as men. She said some such resolution had already been passed by twenty-eight town councils and county borough councils. In Huddersfield county borough there were some 4,000 women who would be entitled to vote for members of Parliament, as they were already entitled to vote for Councillors and Guardians. Many of these women voters had had the honour to vote for members of that Council, and it could not be said that they were incapable of using the vote judiciously and well. (Laughter and applause.)

Miss Kilburn also addressed the Council. On the motion of the Mayor, seconded by Mr. E. A. Beaumont, and supported by Mr. T. Shires, the Council passed the resolution with five dissentients.

Foreign News.

CHINA.

We hear from Canton that there is springing up among the Chinese a class of new women who are known in local parlance as "Freedom Girls." These reject the idea that a woman is an inferior creature to be given away to any man at her parent's will, but claim the right of choosing their own husbands. These progressive young women are not much in favour at present, but their numbers are growing, and they have evidently come to stay.

FRANCE.

The "Académie Goncourt" has recently elected Madame Judith Gautier to be one of its ten members. It is the first time that a woman has occupied this position, and the choice is a very happy one. Her gifts as a poet and a novelist entitle her to a high place in the literary world.

We read in "Jus Suffragii" that "the membership of the French Woman Suffrage Association is growing daily, and new modes of organisation are increasing its efficiency. In Paris it has formed sections for each city district, in order to become better known in the different parts of the capital, and to be ready for action in election times.

In the country departments the Association goes on forming new local branches; for the last month there have been groups working at Nimes and Rouen. The latter branch was inaugurated at a big meeting held in the Town Hall at Rouen on November 27th. The general secretary of the Association attended it, together with the Deputies, Ferdinand

Buisson and Louis Marin, both staunch supporters of women's rights. Prominent people from Havre and Rouen supported them on the platform, and the success of the meeting was enormous."

"Owing to differences of opinion as to the organisation and direction of the French W.S.A., Mrs. J. E. Schmahl, founder and president, and La Duchesse d'Uzès, vice-president, have resigned their membership of the Executive of the French W.S.A."

RUSSIA.

The first general meeting since April of the Moscow branch of the "Russian League for Women's Rights" has just been held, and reports that the Council of the League has had fourteen meetings in Moscow in three months. The work advances but slowly, the three following branches being the most active ones:—

1. The bibliographical section is organising a library of books dealing with the women's question.

2. The section for the abolition of prostitution is organising a course of public lectures on the subject; it is also investigating the entire subject, and trying to check the evil and to save its victims.

3. The economic section is collecting statistics and information as to the life of the women-students. It has also worked out rules of normal conditions for the employment of servants.

SWEDEN.

Active preparations are already being made in Stockholm for the International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress, which is to be held there from June 11th to 18th, 1911. The Municipal Council of the town has voted 3,000 crowns towards the entertainment of the visitors, and a Congress Bureau is open daily; its address is: p/a "Rosträtts-kongressen," Stockholm, and it will gladly furnish any required information. The Rev. Anna H. Shaw has announced her intention of attending the Congress, and arrangements are being made for her to preach. The Swedish Suffragists are greatly looking forward to showing their beautiful country to guests from far and near, and we hope that our own members will not neglect this excellent opportunity of meeting fellow-workers from many parts of the world.

Somerville College Research Fellow.

Miss B. Freire-Marreco, who is at present holding a Research Fellowship at Somerville College, is pursuing an anthropological subject of research—viz., "The Authority of Chiefs and Kings in Uncivilized Society." In pursuance of the modern anthropological methods, she is now doing a piece of "field work" in New Mexico. With the Institute of American Archaeology at Santa Fé as her centre, she has made excursions among the Indians in the neighbouring Pueblos, and has settled for some weeks in solitary occupation of a little wood and canvas house in the Pueblo of Santa Clara. Here she entertains the Indian women, who are ready enough—especially the old ones—to teach her "medicine," but she finds the people as a whole very reserved and perversely inclined to resist the inquisition of white people. Her Indian friends have given her an Indian name, Ta-yo-Povi, "Flower of the sedge," which seems a sign that she is finding her way into their favour. She is shortly to join an expedition of some members of the School of American Archaeology to investigate some interesting tribes in Lower Colorado, where the people are said to be quite as primitive and less reserved.

Miss Freire-Marreco travelled out under the pilotage of the International Exchange of Students, an excellent organization for facilitating the most intelligent kind of travel for students of America and the United Kingdom. Reduced fares are obtained, useful introductions given, and every possible facility provided. Miss Freire-Marreco was the first woman to apply to the secretary. Writing from the School of Economics, she was assumed to be a man, and replied to as such. Happily, when her identity was revealed negotiations were not broken off, and she was glad to think that her case would be a precedent.

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Reviews.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN.

The January number has an all too short account of Mrs. Herringham's experiences when copying the frescoes in the Caves of Ajanta (Hyderabad). Mr. James Haslam has another of his disturbing articles, this time on "Women in the Linen Industry," where he says the average wage is 10s. 10d. per week during a period of great prosperity, and much less in normal or bad times. Many people must have wished to hear what the "Gentleman" had to say in answer to the gallant "Sophia, a Lady of Quality," and Miss Palliser has delved into this forgotten pamphlet, and made a most amusing article out of it. The professions of gallantry side by side with scurrilous abuse make a comic exhibition of the "Gentleman." Mrs. Fawcett and Miss Clementina Black review the situation and the year's record of the movement for Women's Suffrage, and there are two most interesting letters about the Midwives' Bill from two very different points of view, Mrs. Bruce pleading for its passage, and the president of the Midwives' Institute for its amendment.

CLAYHANGER, by Arnold Bennett. (Methuen. Price 6s. Pp. 374.)

It is probably useless to protest now against the view that art should make us in love with the beautiful by showing us the ugliness of the ugly, since it has found exponents so gifted as Mr. H. G. Wells and Mr. Arnold Bennett. The more sordid side of lower middle-class life, with its stupid egotism, its indigestible meals, and resultant (minutely described) indigestion, is given in "Clayhanger," as it was in "Mr. Polly," and the impression left on the mind is one of sickened revolt. Perhaps this was Mr. Bennett's intention. He would force us to realise how ugly this half-life is, limited on every side by physical unfitness and spiritual dullness of vision. It is all ugly, and only a few—and those helplessly—resent its ugliness. The treatment of the minor characters adds to the general sense of futility; they are introduced with some pomp of description, only to drift out of the story again, much as people drift out of each other's lives in reality. And this effect is deepened by the staccato style of arrangement into books, chapters, and sub-chapters. It is a question whether the effect is not overdone; for the whole story leaves in the mind an almost despairing sense of futility, which is not waste only because the human material seems capable of nothing better than futility. And one catches at the announcement on the penultimate page of this long novel, that others dealing with the lives of Hilda Lessways, and of Hilda and Edwin after their marriage, are to be published later, with a hope that now at last the gods will arrive. Indeed, the book requires some such justification, and with its companion volumes may form a really notable work of art. Even in "Clayhanger" there is a suggestion of forces under the dreary surface which may burst into life and beauty. Edwin is a singularly futile person, whose ultimate triumph over his father being due entirely to time, and not at all to himself, revolts us by its petty cruelty, yet he "braces himself to the exquisite burden of life," with an intensity of love which gives him a right to bear it. That he should be capable of being "recompensed in the hundredth part of a second" for all the woman he loves "has made or will hereafter make him suffer" redeems his existence. It is a pity that Hilda should be so unconvincing. The next volume may "create" her; but this book stands, and in it she is an uninteresting enigma.

F. LUDICKE,

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Old Clayhanger himself is a masterpiece. His stupid inability to understand or be understood, his immense, silent pride in the sordidly successful life he has made of it, and the physical humiliation of his decay, penetrate us with the "sense of tears in human things." If Mr. Bennett can persuade us that his pity is not hopelessness, he will, when his trilogy is finished, have written a great book.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

Correspondence.

Correspondents are requested to send their names and addresses, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. The Editor is not responsible for any statement made in the correspondence column.

Correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only.

ELECTION POLICY.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Kindly allow me a short space to reply to Mrs. Hunter. She is of opinion that the running of a candidate for Camlachie was a wise policy to pursue, and quotes the Labour party as an example to be followed in tactics. She is most unhappy in her quotation, because the Labour party would never be so unbusinesslike as to run a candidate without the request of some organisation in possession of a considerable number of votes.

As the Conciliation Committee was most loyally supported by the Labour party in the House of Commons, I cannot understand why no support was given to the Labour candidate in Camlachie Division. Of course, if he was not sound on the Suffrage question he deserved no assistance, but at any rate he ought to have had the option of declaring either for or against Mr. Shackleton's Suffrage Bill.

From a business point of view, calculated from results, the astute political organisers in the Conservative, Liberal, and Labour parties would say that the Suffrage candidature in Camlachie was a miserable failure, while the policy adopted in the South Salford Division by the Suffragists beat them at their game, and in consequence, would impress the politicians in the other parties of the power we possess when rightly used.—Yours,
59, St. Mary Street, Nelson.
ROBERT COOPER.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—As one of the workers in the Camlachie election, may I be allowed to cordially endorse the remarks of Dr. Elsie Inglis in your issue of December 22nd.

I hope very much that a special committee will be appointed to choose suitable constituencies.

We met with so much sympathy and kindness in Camlachie, and almost no rudeness. The few Anti-Suffragists we came across were not belonging to the district, but were members of the Anti-Suffrage Society, who had come over to oppose us, and they were the only disturbers of our outdoor meetings. The behaviour of the crowds was excellent. This makes me think that if we had had longer time to prepare we should have had a fair measure of success. There is no doubt that East St. Pancras and Camlachie were both run in too great a hurry, and the small vote in the first case undoubtedly affected the second one.

But two failures need not dishearten us; only we must prepare, and that very carefully.

The average Unionist working-man in Camlachie was in favour of Women's Suffrage, and could not understand why Mr. McKinder was against it; but he was too afraid of letting in either the Liberal or Labour candidate to risk splitting the Unionist vote.

It wasn't opposition or indifference to us, but want of knowledge, and that can only be overcome by our being early in the field and explaining matters thoroughly. If only we had been there long enough we might have persuaded a large number of these sympathisers to see our point of view and to realise what it meant to us, so that they would have voted for Mr. Mirrlees.

Would it not be possible to get our candidate accepted as the official candidate of either of the parties? Surely this could be done in some cases where there is no candidate ready or willing to stand in the ordinary way.

We are going to win, and our failures must make us more careful in the future, but they must not damp our ardour, but only increase it. Let us never forget those lines of Browning:

"We fall to rise;
Are baffled to fight better."

—Yours,

EDITH W. KIRBY.

The Rectory, Lenzie, Dec. 28th, 1910.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I read with very great interest Mrs. Hunter's inspiring letter on the above subject, and heartily endorse what she says. I would recommend, even urge, all Suffragists to buy, beg, or borrow the "Englishwoman" for January, 1911. In that number Miss Clementina Black gives such an excellent account of the movement during 1910 that any doubters as to the value of our election policy cannot fail to be braced up, and decide to start work at once in preparation for the next election. We cannot start early enough, or do too much work.

In last week's "Common Cause" a correspondent, "T. G.," suggested that we should start missionary work by leaving a pamphlet at every house, such as "The Unjust Laws of England as They Affect Women," and I think this would be an excellent piece of work of the "spade" kind. Probably, as "T. G.," suggested, there are other pamphlets equally suitable. Now this would be really "grinding" work, and we should need to be enthusiastic about it, and above all persevering. But we can do it. One thing we must prevent is overlapping; and I would suggest that we should organise to do any work of this kind thoroughly, and without any overlapping. If we are sure that our election policy is right, and we are, then let us work with all our might to prove our faith, and work with courage until we get the vote.—Yours,
C. C.
Manchester.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Like several of your correspondents, I believe in beginning at once and continuing steadily to prepare the ground for Suffrage candidates in as many constituencies as possible. We know there are great difficulties—difficulties which exist to be overcome. Small measures of success—I do not recognise failures—teach lessons we must use to make greater successes in the future.

The work of the Union is two-fold:—

(1) That which is directed primarily towards educating public opinion, and

(2) Election policy proper; by which I mean work which is primarily directed towards bringing pressure to bear at elections in promoting the return of the candidate who will help most, or hinder least, the passing into law of the Women Suffrage Bill.

No hard-and-fast line can be drawn between the two, but we should distinguish clearly between election policy proper and the educational work done at elections, such as the 300,000 signatures secured for the great electors' petition, which primarily educated the voters and the workers, but which did not affect the returns at the polls.

Our method of supporting supporters may be useful educationally, but we cannot measure our success or failure. There is no test; we do not know whether we turn a single vote. Running our own candidates is the one method open to us by which we can really be sure that any voters are willing to take the chivalrous and altruistic method of putting our question first.

In setting to work to affect the returns at the polls and to face the counting of our gains, we must be clear on two points.

(1) That it is meaningless to compare votes cast in this way, where we really ask some sacrifice from the voter, with electors' petition results, when we merely ask for an academic expression of opinion.

We must definitely face the fact that this raising of the standard of our test has proportionally lowered the number of the heads to be counted. There is no use burying our heads in the sand and trying to believe that 300,000 signatures to a petition carry much weight.

Some have called the campaigns in East St. Pancras and Camlachie failures. What is success? Is it placing our Bill on the Statute Book? Then all methods have been failures. Is it returning the best man? As Miss Marshall points out, in other constituencies, by other methods, there have been similar failures. The test of success is whether now, in our wisdom after the event, we are glad we carried the two campaigns to a finish. It seems to me that it is well that we entered on those fights, and well that we carried them to a finish, because to-day we are further on the way towards making a greater success next time.

And (2) that the results of any election policy we voteless women adopt must be small compared with the results of the same policy adopted by men armed with votes. It is in the nature of our voteless position. Miss Davies, in her interesting letter, said of the two Suffrage candidatures: "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre." The same remark is applicable to all our work—to our voters' petition, to our supporting of supporters. The work is magnificent, but it is not war. The remark is applicable to the work of any unarmed force attacking a fully equipped army.

Recognising, then, that compared with the other armies in the field we rank as an unarmed force, it is our business to seek out the weak spots in the fortifications of our enemy. These weak spots are the seats with narrow majorities. The 35 Suffragist votes in Camlachie were quite comparable with the majority of 26. Many of the present members hold their seats by narrow majorities.

Then there are other gains directly due to the adoption of this new policy, for it is new in so far as it is specially directed towards seats in which the majority is narrow. There stands to the credit of the Manchester Society, for the magnificent work done in South Salford, the fact that Mr. Belloc retired from the field. To the preliminary negotiations carried on by the London Society in two London constituencies would seem to be due to the fact that two M.P.s supposed to be Anti-Suffragists saw fit to vote straight on the Conciliation Bill. This total compares well with the results of other policies.

With regard to Miss Marshall's suggestion as to the disposition of our forces (she recognises it is not specially an election policy) it seems to me a distinctly retrograde step to adopt such a method universally, or even specially to encourage it, however suitable it may be as a *pis aller* for the weak-kneed Suffragist. The Union has, especially within the last few years, educated a large body of women to put Suffrage before party. This body we wish to increase, and to add to it men who are willing to put this fundamental question first. It may be a suitable method for Party Suffrage Societies, but a purely Suffrage Society should set a higher ideal. That it has been received with "warm approval on all sides" is perhaps its strongest condemnation. No effective political method is received with universal approval. Quite as varied a selection of letters, and such letters certainly do a great deal towards educating candidates, might be written under any scheme. We must continue to put Suffrage first.—Yours,

CHRISTAL MACMILLAN.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Miss Emily Davies appears to advocate "the scheme of interchange," expounded by Miss Catherine Marshall, as an alternative policy to that of Suffrage candidates. This idea, which has been suggested by many Suffragists, and practically carried out in some Societies, seems to me a very valuable arm of election policy, if effectively organised in Societies, Federations, and from our Central Office. But I should regret exceedingly if our National Union has nothing more effective in policy for the many able minds who are prepared to give their best for the objects of our Union, than the organisation of a floating force of election workers. I still hope that those who conceived the idea of our present "Suffrage candidate" are prepared to put in the steady educational work, the persistent nursing of constituency, and the cool-headedness to avoid unnecessary defeat, and, with the best executive organisation to help them, prove that a Suffrage candidate is possible and effective.

A great value in the policy advocated by Miss C. Marshall seems to lie in the fact that with its adoption a much stronger grip is given to the non-party attitude. And we can insist that our Societies should not allow their members to work for an opponent to Women's Suffrage. Secretaries and officers of Societies know I am not alluding to fictitious possibilities, and that we have got a good thing when it enables us to say no Society shall allow this disloyalty, and at the same time makes it possible for keen party women to



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find work in supporting one of their party who is a Suffragist, and may help our friends to get where we all wish to see them. Surely no reasonable person can complain if, when we insist on our members not helping an Anti-Suffragist or an indifferent, we provide efficient machinery and support to get them work in helping a sympathiser.

If they want more, then another Suffrage Society would possibly get more loyal work from their bias of mind than our non-party organisation.

With a strong policy in this direction among all Societies—I mean with our National Union Societies only working for friends to Women's Suffrage—with a well-organised force of floating election workers, with redoubled educational efforts amongst the electorate, with every organisation possible to us working, perhaps a more successful Suffrage candidate has yet to arrive.—Yours,

MARGARET O'SHEA

(Hon. Sec. Surrey, Sussex, and Hants Federation),
Cosham, Hants.

THE NATIONAL UNION AND TAX RESISTANCE

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—I share to the full your Penarth correspondent's wish for thorough discussion of the pros and cons of the policy of tax resistance. But may I say that we can scarcely hope to reach a sane and wise decision if either side sets out by assuming that the other proposes to do evil that good may come? Even Tolstoy himself justifies passive resistance to laws wrongly established, and it is unquestionable that times come when continued acquiescence in such laws lies open to the charge of being wrong, therefore evil.

Whether such a time is upon us now is the question we are called upon to decide. No one who realises how hardly won has been even the present degree of good attained by men's laws will wish to lay hasty hands upon them without a full sense of responsibility; nevertheless, we have also to remember that hardly any higher stage in them has been reached till few or many individuals have revolted against the lower one.

True, the taxes are spent for the benefit of the whole population, though women who help to pay do not help to choose the kind of benefit. But what about the methods of expenditure on the public services? What about the women workers in the postal and telegraph services, the women teachers in the Government schools, who for doing exactly the same work at least equally well receive so much smaller pay than men?

What, above all, about the sweated makers of army clothing? How long are we to take the responsibility of unresisting assent to these legalised regulations?

May I add that we live under conditions which must and do render suspect all counsels of non-resistance from women unless peculiarly well justified by reason? We are only just emerging from an æonian discipline of subjection; most even of the present-day generation of middle-aged women have themselves undergone such drilling in submission as tends to make any refusal of it seem like wrong-doing. And for this cause we have to receive any promptings to take the easier line of acquiescence with the most careful self-examination.

It is quite possible that the Council of the National Union may decide that the time is not ripe for tax resistance, or that, like the ladies of the Penarth Society, they conscientiously object. It is also possible that individuals, more or fewer, still feeling themselves bound to make this protest, may have to go out into the wilderness to do it. Only let those who stay and those who go be alike generous enough to believe and acknowledge that the others do not deliberately elect to do evil even for a good end, whether by resistance or by acquiescence, but are first, as well as last, striving to fulfil the right as recognized by their own conscience and most careful judgment.—Yours,
A. SHARP.

CAMLACHIE DIVISION.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Permit me to draw attention to a paragraph which appears in your issue of the 22nd inst., but which is anonymous, *re* the workers in Camlachie Division. It is only just to the Glasgow members that a number of names ought to be mentioned, and I shall be obliged if you will please insert this in your coming number.

Miss Dalziel travelled daily from Bridge of Weir, Mrs. Lawrie from Greenock, and Miss Kirby from Lenzie to help us.

Also mention ought to be made of Mrs. Wood (Kilmacolm), Mrs. Ballantyne, Miss Pagan, and Miss Arthur, who helped both in and out of committee rooms, while Miss Parker and Miss L. Paterson contributed no small share to the open-air speaking.—Yours,
ALEXANDRA S. JACKSON.

12, Alford Street, Glasgow, Dec. 30th, 1910.
[The "anonymous" paragraph to which our correspondent refers was only printed so by mistake. The signature of the Scottish organiser, Miss Lamond, should have been at the foot of the page.—Ed. "C. C."]

A SUFFRAGE STAMP.

To the Editor "The Common Cause."

Madam,—Would it not be a good plan to get all Suffragists to use a special stamp when paying bills? The stamp might be in the colours of the various Unions, but in any case it would have "Votes for Women" or some very clear motto printed on it. I saw a letter in "Votes for Women" advising this, and have used the enclosed stamp always since then. Something is done if only the cashier sees it, and in the case of a shop that advertises in a Suffrage paper, a further advantage is gained. Women who are ratepayers might draw attention to their claims in this very harmless way when paying their rates.

Those of us who can do very little for the cause should be only too pleased to have an opportunity like this afforded us of bearing witness to our faith. I don't think we are any of us, militant or peaceful, particular enough about wearing our badges, and wearing them conspicuously. While there are women in all the Unions who are giving up their lives to this cause, we should feel very proud to show by wearing the colours that we understand and appreciate them.

May I add that I have been taking in your paper for some months, and like it very much. There is something very distinctive about it. I push on our own paper, naturally, first, but when I find people in general sympathy, but not able quite to see eye to eye with us, I am glad to be able to recommend "The Common Cause."—Yours,
W.S.P.U.

[Our generous correspondent enclosed a charming little diamond-shaped stamp which, on a purple ground, has "Votes for Women" inscribed on a white oval centre, enclosed in a green wreath.—Ed. "C. C."]

Reports of Societies within the National Union.

Secretaries would simplify the work by sending in notices of FORTHCOMING MEETINGS, endorsed with those words, with time, place, and speakers legibly written, on one side of the paper only, and on a sheet of paper separate from other matter.

LONDON—WIMBLEDON.

On Thursday evening, December 15th, a public meeting was held at St. Mark's Hall, Wimbledon. The speakers were Lady Frances Balfour and Mrs. Rackham. Mr. Cecil Walsh took the chair at 8.30. There was a very good attendance. Lady Frances Balfour, who was greeted with loud applause, reminded the audience of the constitutional and non-party character of the London Society. She

said no cause could benefit by losing patience. Long years of toil on the part of a few pioneers had brought the Suffrage movement more into line with the other great national issues. Lady Balfour proposed a resolution urging the Government to pass the Conciliation Bill without delay. This was seconded by Mrs. Rackham, who laughed at the thin-end-of-the-wedge argument, and pointed out that the wedge had been inserted long ago, when women first began to be educated. Mr. H. M. Ellis supported the resolution, which was passed with four dissentients. Many new members joined the Society.

WAKEFIELD.

We were very busy during the election. Both our candidates declared themselves at their public meetings as supporters of the Conciliation Bill, so we did propaganda work only. Much interest was shown in our Suffrage shop, which was in a central position in the town. Literature was distributed and sold, and a highly successful open-air meeting was held in the Bull Ring on December 2nd; in spite of the intense cold a large crowd listened most attentively to Miss Fielden, and a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage was carried unanimously. This meeting was followed on the 20th by another in the Church Institution, Miss Fielden again being the speaker, and Mr. Lodge Hirst, a member of the Corporation, presiding. He declared himself a convinced supporter of the Suffrage cause. Miss Fielden, after a delightful speech, proposed a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage. This was seconded by the Wakefield secretary (who gave a short account of the progress of the Society, which now has ninety-nine members), and carried unanimously. A good collection was taken, and four new members joined the Society.

Other Societies.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

On Friday, January 6th, the Actresses' Franchise League are giving their usual monthly At Home in the Grand Hall, the Criterion Restaurant, at 3 o'clock. The speakers will be Miss Abadam, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Sir Thomas Barclay, M.P., Miss Eva Moore will be in the chair, and Miss Auriol Lee will act as hostess. A very special feature on this occasion will be a Suffrage song, entitled "The Awakening," by Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox. The song will be sung by Miss Edith Clegg, with a full chorus, and accompanied by the composer, Miss Teresa del Riego.

The doors will be opened at 2.30, and those desirous of obtaining a seat are advised to be there early, as it is expected that the hall will be very full. Admission free.

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MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. LIVERPOOL BRANCH. Mr. Laurence Housman will read his censored play, "Pains and Penalties," on Thursday, January 12th, at 8 p.m., at the Yamen Cafe, Bold Street, Liverpool. Tickets, prices 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s., may be had from the Liverpool Booksellers' Co., 70, Lord Street. The proceeds will go to the Liverpool branch of the Men's League.

Forthcoming Meetings.

- JANUARY 9. Bedminster—East Street Stores—Women's Co-operative Guild Mrs. W. C. H. Cross. 3.0
JANUARY 10. Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, Town Hall Avenue—At Home —Mrs. Richardson, Miss Shaw. 4.0
JANUARY 12. Dublin—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—35, Molesworth Street—Committee Meeting. 11.50
JANUARY 17. Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, Town Hall Avenue—At Home —Mrs. Lobley. 4.0
JANUARY 20. Hull—Royal Institution, Albion Street—Public Meeting—Mrs. Henry Fawcett, L.L.D., Mrs. Alan Bright. 8.0
JANUARY 24. Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, Town Hall Avenue—Debate— Mrs. Rowe. 4.0
Huddersfield—Parochial Hall, George Street—Presentation of New Banner by Mrs. Josiah Lockwood. 3.50
JANUARY 27. Dublin—Irish W.S. and Local Government Association—35, Molesworth Street—"Labour Bureaux for Women"—Miss J. Brown, B.A. 8.0
JANUARY 31. Bournemouth—Assembly Rooms, Town Hall Avenue—At Home —Mrs. Hood. 4.0

LONDON.

- Jan. 25: Lower Clapton, Congregational Church, Debate, Miss Palliser. 8.0

SCOTLAND.

- Jan. 19: Perth, Bridgend Hall, Concert and Play. 8.0

List of Societies in the National Union.

- ENGLAND. Society. Secretary. Altrincham Division. Miss ARNOLD, Highbury, Hale, Cheshire.
Ambleside & District. C. BULLEN, Esq., Roselands, Ambleside.
Barnesley. Miss CELIA WRAY, Fairfield House, Barnesley.
Barnard Castle. Miss JANE A. BARKER, 20, Horse Market, Barnard Castle.
Basingstoke. Mrs. JOHN VICTORIA STREET, Basingstoke.
Bath. Miss WHEELWRIGHT, 52, Sidney Buildings, Bath.
Berks, N. Mrs. CROSS, Aston Tirrold Manor, Wallingford, Bucks.
Beverley. (Pro tem.) Miss ELLWELL, York Road, Beverley.
Birkenhead. Miss A. WYSE, 4, Mather Road, Oxton, Birkenhead.
Birmingham and Midland. Mrs. RING, 10, Easy Row, Birmingham.
Sutton Coldfield. Mrs. GREENWOOD, Orotava, Wyldgreen, Streetly, Sutton Coldfield.
Solihull. Miss WRIGHT, Sutton Lodge, Solihull.
Blackpool & Fylde. Miss ANNE HEATON, 228, Hornby Road, Blackpool.
Bolton. Miss HASLAM, White Bank, Bolton.
Bournemouth. Mrs. WARREN, Calluna, West Cliff Road, Bournemouth.
Bradford. Mrs. BAUER, 20, Springwood Terrace, Bradford.
Bridlington. Mrs. OVERBURY, 4, Ashbourne Avenue, Bridlington.
Brighton. Miss F. DE G. MERRIFIELD, 14, Clifton Terrace, Brighton.
Bristol. Miss TAYLOR, and Mrs. W. C. H. CROSS, 111a, Whiteladies' Road, Bristol.
Bucks, W. Miss REID, Wycombe Abbey School, Bucks.
Bucks, Mid. Miss SOLOMON, St. Teresa's, Wendover.
Burton-on-Trent. Mrs. P. H. MELLOR, Woodville, Burton-on-T.
Bury. Miss MERCY ASHWORTH, Hazeldean, Bury, Lancs.
Camberley & District. Miss EVELYN ATKINSON, Portesberry Hill, Camberley.
Cambridge. Mrs. WARD, 6, Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge.
Cambridge University. Miss E. V. ECKHARD, Newnham College.
Carlisle. Miss EDITH MATRAVERS, Howard Place, Carlisle; and Miss M. L. FELL, Knells, Carlisle.
Chelmsford. Miss RICHENDA CHRISTY, Orchards, Broomfield, Chelmsford.
Cheltenham. Miss MILLS, Lowmandale, Leckhampton, Cheltenham.
Clevedon. Miss CLYTON, 2, Hallam Road, Clevedon, Som.
Clitheroe. Mrs. MYERS, 114, Smith Street, Nelson, Lancs.
Cornwall, East. Miss JESSIE WILLIAMS, Grove Park, Liskeard, Cornwall.
Coventry. Miss WILKS, 76, Holyhead Road, Coventry.
Cranleigh & District. Miss PHELLIS BROCKMAN, Oaklands, Cranleigh, Surrey.
Crewe. Miss DUNN, 55, Gainsborough Road, Crewe.
Crandall & Crookham. Miss SYLVIA M. CLARK, The Hurst, Church Crookham, Hants.
Croydon. Miss S. WHITE, Gilmerton, 57, Chatsworth Rd., Croydon.
Cuckfield. Miss E. C. BEVAN, Horsgate, Cuckfield.
Darlington & District. Miss SWANSON, 17, Waverley Ter., Darlington.
Derby. LADY ONSLOW, Chevin Bank, Duffield, Derby.
Dover. Dr. ANNIE BRUNYATE, 4, Ethingam Crescent, Driffield.
Miss MORTIMER, East Lodge, Driffield, E. Yorks.

- Society. Secretary. Durham. Miss ROBINSON, Abbey House, The University, Durham.
Eastbourne. Miss SUSAN GATLIF, Fernholme, 91, Enye Rd., Eastbourne.
Eccles. Mrs. R. A. NORBURY, West Leigh, Broad Oak Park, Worsley.
Essex, N. & E. Miss COURTAULD, Colne Engaine, Earls Colne, Essex.
Exeter. Miss MONTGOMERY, 10, Baring Cres., Exeter.
Farnham. Miss MILTON, Fernlea, Lower Bourne, Farnham.
Filey. Miss HANKES, 14, Southdene, Filey.
Fleet. Mrs. KAYSER, The Garth, Fleet, Hants; and (Pro tem.) Miss D. EDWARDS, Fircroft, Fleet, Hants.
Folkestone. (Pro tem.) Miss HERRING COOPER, 24, Christ Church Road, Folkestone.
Gateshead. Miss L. JOHNSON, 3, Noble Terrace, Gateshead.
Gloucester. Miss F. ELIA L. WALROND, Cathedral House, Gloucester.
Godalming. Miss F. W. POWELL, Munstead Rough, Godalming.
Guildford. Miss NOELINE BAKER, Warren House, Guildford.
Halesmere. Miss HAZARD, Caltofts, Harleston, Norfolk.
Harrrogate. Miss WOODHEAD, The Ridings, Springfield Av., Harrogate.
Haslemere. Miss REES, By-the-Way, Hindhead, Haslemere.
Hastings and St. Leonards. Miss STANHAM, Wyalal Lodge, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
Hereford. Mrs. COLLIER, Holdgate Rectory, Much Wenlock, Salop.
Herts, N. Miss VILLIERS, 11, Julians Road, Stevenage, Hitchin.
Herts, W. Miss SUGDEN, Fircroft, Letchworth.
Hockwold-cum-Wilton. Mrs. ROBINSON, Aysgarth, Upton Rd., Watford.
Horsham. Mrs. TENANT, Hockwold Rectory, Brandon.
Huddersfield. Mrs. KEATINGE, Lynwood, Horsham.
Mrs. STUDDARD, 44, Springwood St., Huddersfield.
Hull. Miss HYDE, Rosemont, The Park, Hull.
Huntingdon. Miss CLARA CRAVEN, B.A., 68, Chapel Street, Hyde.
Kendal & District. Miss MARY BENSON, Hyning, Milnthorpe, Westmorland.
Kewick. Miss S. M. KNIGHT, 121, Main Street, Kewick.
Knutsford. Mrs. J. R. TOMLINSON, Rye Field, Knutsford.
Leeds. Mrs. THORNTON, Bramdean, Park Lane, Roundhay, Leeds.
Leicester. Miss MARY M. A. ENDERBY, near Leicester.
Leigh. Miss F. P. HINDSHAW, 34, The Avenue, Leigh.
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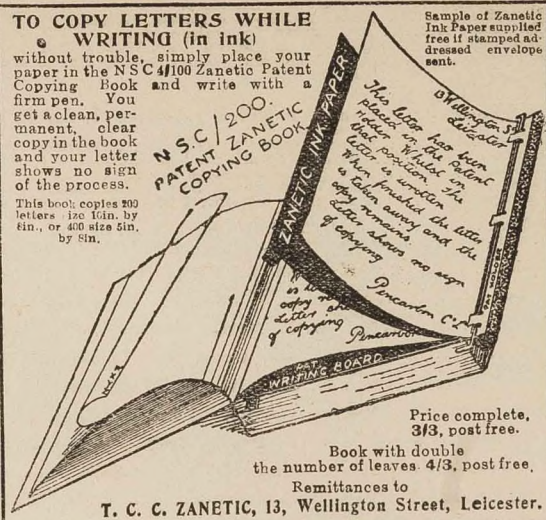
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